the nuts to the drier. The various stages of processing took up 12.4 man-hours and 7.5 man-hours were spent in bagging and selling the 75 lbs of copra. The entrepreneur sold the copra to the Motu Native Co-operative Society at Oro Bay and by getting a lift there and back he spent only 4.4 hours on what would have been a 10-hour journey by foot. The total input of labour on the second batch of copra was 30.7 man-hours and the total return was $2.32, or under 8c per man-hour. This return disregards establishment and maintenance costs; however, as the palms used had been planted for subsistence purposes and maintenance is rare, the additional costs were negligible. They would only become significant if people planted large numbers of trees specifically for copra. This was the intention of several men. As is shown on pp.292-3, the return to labour in copra production is higher than the normal return from casual labouring and during 1965, after the survey had ended, copra was made regularly by the villagers, including the four men who had obtained work in Popondetta. Assuming that the efficiency of harvesting and processing increased with experience, it seems likely that the cash returns also increased during 1965.

(ii) Other activities. Involvement with the external agencies takes an average of 3.2 hours per person per week. Most of this time is spent by women in cleaning the village area, defined as 'council work', which also includes a total of 42.5 hours spent by villagers in the first week paying taxes to the council. Church services occupy 0.9 hours a week; the entrepreneur holds a half-hour weekly service in the chapel and sometimes people go to larger services at Ijika church, particularly for major church festivals and confirmation ceremonies. People from the neighbouring villages of Mosou and Hahemo often attend the chapel services, which are also a social occasion, with people in their best clothes and even gambling afterwards. Perhaps mainly for this reason, non-Christians occasionally attend the services as 'hearers' (in the mission terminology). Little time is spent on purchasing goods in trade stores. The most regularly used stores are the one in the village, those at Ijika and the settlement blocks (which are about one hour's walk from Inonda), and those in Popondetta - particularly Oro Ltd's store and stores owned by Chinese - about 2.75 hour's walk away. Despite the distance to Popondetta, it is frequently visited, often by getting a lift from a passing truck (or, during the survey, from the researchers). Little time was spent in meetings: 57.6 man-hours were spent on the day of polling for the House of Assembly and most of the rest was expended by the entrepreneur in discussions with administrative and agricultural personnel in Popondetta. In addition, one woman attended the Hohota Women's Club meetings during period I before the club ceased functioning.

Social obligations involve individuals for an average of 4.2 hours per week. During 1964 in Inonda, only 0.2 hours per week (76 hours in all) were related to life crises and these were almost

361 cultivating gardens that are more than a mile or so away from his village.

241 When Rimoldi made his careful notes of cultivated gardens,
311 these seemed to be predominantly in the Northeastern part of the village domain. These gardens are ordinarily fallowed for eight years or so and then cultivated for one season. The gardens in the Southwestern part of the village domain were undoubtedly being cultivated shortly after the eruption; they are again being cultivated today. It therefore seems to make sense that after the eruption people were living in Pamba, in that part of the domain and that the new Sivepe is again in that area.

731 Inonda experienced three shifts since the eruption: first
361 to the vicinity of the airstrip (1951), then to the village described by Crocombe and Hogbin (1955), then to the village where I myself stayed (established 1964; see Map VII).A The pre-eruption village was just behind this new village, again suggesting an orderly exploitation of garden land. In 1964, Inonda returned to garden land that had been fallowed since the eruption. People told me that before shifting to the present site, they had to walk much too far to their gardens.

361 While the layout of Pamba was traditional--with the houses
659 close together and little space between the rows--both post-eruption settlements of Sivepe and all the four post-war Inonda settlements followed what one may call the Australian standard plan: two fairly regular parallel rows of equidistant houses facing each other, with a few houses joining the two rows, thus forming a quadrangle, and a wide field in the middle, used for playing soccer and basketball and as a separation of the two "halves" of the village which tend [364] to belong to different clans. A modern village will contain, in addition to residences, privies for each family, while some have [345] built a hall for the women's club, sponsored by the government. Inonda built a very stylish one, using as a floor a slab of concrete [575] which the Americans laid down during the war. Sivepe got no further than the foundations, after which a quarrel blocked progress. In addition all villages contain a number of arara or jataka--covered platforms where men sit and receive visitors. Many villages, including [591] Sivepe, still have a bachelor's house. Typically, each house is occupied by a two-generation family comprising no more than one married couple. A stream is always close to the village.

The change in village layout as between Pamba and the two later Sivepe villages must be discussed in a little more detail as the eruption was clearly influential here. The Australian government has long been concerned about village layouts; this interest went beyond consolidations and included the improvement of housing
659 standards, village sanitation and roads. We find Wilfred Beaver,
364 in the Annual Report for 1914-15, already claiming that he had "insisted on these three essentials in village life," in the

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]

permanent gifts of land: the populous mission village, if granted a permanent landed foothold, might well become excessively powerful and even oppressive. As long as the missionaries had only temporary tenure, their dependence on the villagers would always remain manifest.

No Orokaiva begrudged the mission teachers their special and high status derived from their office as teachers and preachers. While their duties were mostly with the school, they all gave occasional religious lessons in the villages. One teacher made such a visit to Sivepe nominally once a month, and always after there had been a serious village fight, thus helping the reconciliation of the combatants. There was an even more marked respect for the priest, deacon and AMO. This respect was expressed, for instance, when the village trade store at Sasembata villages, which usually operated on a fairly strict cash basis, was willing to give credit to mission teachers. (Regrettably, some proved slow payers.) There was also a convention whereby fights were promptly stopped when a mission teacher appeared and asked the combatants to stop. (The same taboo exists against fighting in the presence of cross-cousins of the category known as simbo.)

The coastal immigrants, however, aspired in addition to a general cultural ascendance. As one example of this, they liked to introduce among the Orokaiva their coastal dances and songs. The Orokaiva were avid pupils (as their culture history suggests they have been long before the days of Christianity). At the big dance held at the mission station in June, 1967, at least two entirely new dances, both of coastal origin, were introduced, one by the women of Sivepe and Kongohambo, and one by men and women from Waseta. In both cases, the teachers were missionaries from the coast. In both cases, the dance had never previously been seen in Orokaiva territory.

A significant source of power for the mission settlement was its indispensable role in the containment of quarrels not only within but also between villages. Sports matches tended to lead to fights, but they tended to be far more peaceful if they were held on the mission station. This was a place where people had to repress their anger. During my stay at Sivepe, several attempts were made to play matches in the village, but after two serious fights, people agreed with the priest's suggestion to play on the station in future.

Section 2: A Case History: Women's Organisations and the Mission

The following brief description of women's organisations in the Sasembata area, and especially Sivepe, will illustrate the general propositions concerning mission-village relationships set out in the previous section. There are no traditional women's organisations among the Orokaiva, though the women do certainly at times act as a solidary group in village affairs, especially when a husband is seen maltreating his wife. The other women will then club together with the wronged

wife, effectively shaming the husband. Today's organisations are sponsored by the government as well as the mission. The government employs a female "welfare officer," attached to the Department of District Administration at Popondetta, who is charged with the organising and supervising of what are cal'ed women's clubs. These clubs, set up in villages, are expected to follow a set programme, designed by the welfare officer, aimed at improving village hygiene, housekeeping and craft work. The women are also encouraged to play basketball at club meetings. They learn to sew, bake scones, etc., make bark cloth for sale, are given talks on infant welfare and generally learn Australian ideas about home care. Clubs are encouraged to buy sewing machines, instructed in their use and care, shown how to cut patterns, how to launder, and so forth. Courses lasting two weeks are given periodically at the Higaturu Council building, to which a number of selected officers of local women's clubs are invited. Usually these are presidents and secretaries of clubs. They are taught the various skills to be inculcated and expected to pass on their knowledge in the village. The women are expected to persuade the men to build a meeting hall for the club. Money for the club is raised by regular dues, by the sale of bark cloth, and by the sale of cakes, scones and the like on club days. (The buying of ovens is also encouraged.) Inonda had such a club, built a club house in 1967 and had the use of a sewing machine. Kiorota had a club house, used not only by the women but also by the men when there were important visitors.

In the Sasembata district, the women's clubs became fused with their mission counterpart, the mother's union. The latter had existed from the early 1950's, and were accustomed to have prayer meetings, clean the church and the cemetery, sew for the hospital and carry out other church work usually allotted to women. The president of the mother's union was the pastor's wife, a woman of some ambition. For the convenience of the members of the mother's union, many of whom lived too faraway to attend regularly at the mission station, several branches were formed, in places such as Kendata and Puri, while the villages within easy reach (Sasembata, Sivepe, Garombi, Binduta, Kongohambo, Torogota) mostly attended the central branch. When the government founded the women's clubs, the territorial units covered by the clubs soon became identical with the areas covered by the branches of the mother's union. Furthermore, the club which included Sivepe and the mission station chose as its president the pastor's wife, as well as the same secretary, a young Sivepe woman. The two organisations thus became identical in territorial boundaries, largely identical in personnel and rather similar in some of their activities. To mention but one instance, it was natural for the club to use the mother's union sewing machine for the club sewing programme.

The membership of the mother's union, in Sivepe at least, was somewhat larger than the membership of the women's club. The younger women were all active in both. Once a month they went to mother's union, did the necessary church work, cooked a common meal, prayed

794 and sang hymns and gossiped. Once a week, or at least as many weeks
575 as there was no obstacle to holding a meeting, they went to women's club, did some sewing, discussed club affairs and played basketball. The older women did not like the basketball and were not interested in the innovations that were talked about in the club. They only attended women's club on special occasions. There was a contribution of 2/- per month which was generally paid only by the younger women.

Shortly after our arrival, a conflict developed between the club and the school. The head teacher objected to the noise made by the women, who spent the mornings sewing in the clubhouse which was on the station and then played basketball on the school ground in the afternoon. He could not get the students to pay attention to the lessons on the women's club day--which at that time was regularly every Tuesday. He suggested the women should build a club house away from the station. The pastor agreed with this suggestion, much to the rage of his wife, who was club president.

[554] The effect of this altercation was a plan to build the club house in Sivepe, the nearest village, and play basketball there. The Sivepe women were delighted, as this greatly increased their status in the club, not only vis-à-vis the other villages, but also vis-à-vis the mission women, hitherto the aristocrats. For the next two weeks after this, the women met very frequently, as the decision to build in Sivepe, though wholly agreeable to the pastor, was mortifying to his wife and jealously regarded by the women from the other villages. At these meetings it was less important what was discussed than by whom they were boycotted. The mission women continued to argue against the decision for a further fortnight, with several meetings failing through lack of attendance. Meanwhile, school boys carried the materials of the old club house from the station down to their village, and Sivepe men cleared a handsome site for the club-house and erected the posts.

794 The mission women now withdrew from the club and asked for their
575 membership fees back, which they were given. It appeared that their
578 quarrel was not so much with Sivepe but with the Sasembata village
628 women. Most of the land used by mission teachers belonged to that village; the Sasembata women thought, with some justice, that the mission women were not sufficiently diligent in their garden work. It was customary for all school children to bring one taro to school each week and also each family brought some taro to Sunday service. This food was in part distributed among the mission teachers. The Sasembata women took the view that these gifts to teachers were necessitated only by the laziness of the teachers' wives. The latter countered this abuse with the argument I have already mentioned, viz. that it was necessary for coastal people to teach among the Orokaiva because the Orokaiva were too barbaric and ignorant to have teachers of their own.

The men soon lost interest in the building of the clubhouse. It was not easy to understand why they lost interest; when I asked them they pointed out that some of the houses in the New Sivepe had not

yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The same men devoted most of the following two months on building the mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more subtle.

About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested, would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during lent but on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence. I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises" (as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher; later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

794 women who had joined the group favoured another site: a small settlement
575 very close to Sivepe and the mission station and affiliated with
578 Sasembata village. They never suggested the "practises" should be held in the station. Indeed, although they proceeded night after night, usually from about 10:00 p.m. until well after midnight, the head teacher did not know about them almost until the end, until he drove home late one night and heard something (he did not know what) from the road. Some nights there was no practise because the two sides could not agree on a site. The men seemed to be somewhat irritated by the constant presence of a mission teacher in the village, in a conspicuous role of authority, over their own women. They countered by complaints about the "noise" which made it impossible for them to sleep. This made it easier for the Sivepe women to agree to practise in the next settlement, though they also practised near the house of one of the village dancing leaders who lived away from the complaintants and was sympathetic to the kere. In the end, the usual split did occur: the mission women did not actually dance with the group from Sivepe and Sasembata village, but pulled out and formed a second kere party together with Kongohambo women, under the leadership of the deacon's wife, who also knew this dance. Both parties performed in the final performance at the mission station.

These events definitely show the mission station as a cultural force, quite independently of the mission teachers' ecclesiastical or schoolmasterly role. Sivepe was willing to offer the mission station a certain amount of compliance, in return for the valued knowledge that was being supplied, but fought--with success--against the mission station's attempt to use to the occasion to place the village in a position of socio-political subservience.

Section 3: The Mission and Traditional Religion

771 The Orokaiva attitude to Christianity is a complex subject
776 which I intend to treat more fully elsewhere and falls somewhat outside
777 the concern of our present project. It is very clear that some basic notion of Christian monotheism have not been accepted by the Orokaiva, such as for instance the notion of God's omnipotence. Orokaiva Christians believe in the existence of God and in His infinite power, but He is viewed as an addition to other powers, who is hostile to some of these other powers, but not necessarily to others. I was told that a person ought to give up black magic after baptism, but informants dismissed my suggestion that Christianity was also opposed to curing magic. No curing magician ever ceased practising when he was baptised.

I have referred several times to the tendency to place ancient
777 ritual under the protection, so to speak, of the new God. Rituals
[788] connected with the taro cycle were performed at Christmas and Eastertime,
[775] perferably on the mission station. While the beliefs about the ghosts